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ABSTRACT

Interest in a regional and local approach to vocational training and adult education is increasing throughout the member nations of the Council of Europe. This is largely a result of the changing European economic order and the new internationalization of industrial strategies. Particularly needed is a targeted local and regional policy for the creation of activities and jobs that emphasizes training in rural, urban, and industrial areas and that integrates the training of priority groups (youth, women, migrants, the disabled, and the elderly) with local development. Among the necessary conditions for a training policy that is integrated with local and regional development are the following: a close connection between development policy, objectives, and training programs; demarcation of homogeneous geographical areas corresponding to demography and industrial barriers; a strategy for balanced growth conducive to genuine development; coordination between officials engaged in educational work; local and regional programming of training activities based on participation, integration, and coordination; a specific local and regional organization; and local development officers. (Appended to the report are three articles on the role of adult education in relation to regional development and a bibliography of documents relating to regional development.) (MN)

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DEVELOPMENT,
REGIONAL TRAINING POLICY
AND ADULT EDUCATION

by
J.J. SCHEFFKNECHT

Council for Cultural Co-operation
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1982

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0. INTRODUCTION

The Council of Europe, on the basis of work done by the Steering Group on Permanent Education and the Project Group for "Development of Adult Education", has for some years been stressing the growing importance of a local and regional approach to the training of adults and to permanent education. \

The conclusions of the Siena Symposium (1) and those of the Conference on Adult Education (2) made similar recommendations in this sense.

A significant portion of the funds allocated for operating the "interaction network" have been used in connection with the integration of training with local development.

Appendix IV contains a list of the chief reports setting out the assessments of experiments under way in the member countries and the findings of concluding seminars or specific workshops.

The comparatively modest studies undertaken by the Council of Europe give only a partial picture of experiments in Europe today and cannot claim to be typical of all the innovations now known to us. Emphasis has been placed mainly on schemes integrated with rural development; urban schemes, schemes covering industrial basins or schemes relating to regional planning and development should be examined more closely in the Council's subsequent programme. Hence the scope of this conspectus, although it does include some projects pursued outside the Council's programme, is bound to be limited. It represents the first stage of an enquiry which should pay greater attention to combining concern for the planning of training with special consideration of the economic and social impact of local and regional educational activities.

1. TOWARDS A TRAINING APPROACH INTEGRATED WITH LOCAL AND REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT

Interest in a regional and local approach to vocational training and adult education is emerging in the more centralised countries and assuming new forms in those member states where it already has a long tradition parallel or complementary to sectoral approaches and national policies. This growth of interest in a regional approach is governed by a number of factors which we shall recall very briefly.

1.1 A new employment and training policy related to a new economic deal

We are the more or less conscious agents of the installation of a new world economic order which is producing a new division of labour and having a profound effect on the structure of activities and skills in each of our countries.

(1) "Permanent education policy today" (Siena, May 1979)

(2) "Adult Education: Ten years of change: trends for the 80's" (Strasbourg, November 1980)

Europe is trying to react to this new situation in an increasingly co-ordinated fashion, and a new European economic and social dimension exists in embryo.

The essential characteristics of the new European economic order is probably that a period of more balanced growth is succeeding the vigorous, often unbridled, growth which our countries experienced until around 1970.

The new growth, conducive to development, will necessarily:

- be more economical and diversified in the consumption of energy and raw materials;
- pay greater attention to the quality of life of the citizens, the quality of workers' output and the quality of the environment;
- create more jobs, as the new growth strategy will necessarily be accompanied by a new strategy for the creation of activities and employment;
- be obliged to envisage a new strategy for the siting of jobs, above all putting an end to the policy of letting large expanses of agricultural land go to waste;
- provide increased facilities for the access of women to the production process;
- be obliged to integrate new technological applications which, like information and biological techniques, will profoundly affect production systems and structures;
- face up to problems of industrialisation of the third world;
- be bound to invent a system of education which must be permanent, practical and adjusted to this trend.

1.2 Decentralisation of economic enterprise

In face of this situation, coupled with the internationalisation of industrial strategies, the need for a local and regional economic strategy is becoming apparent everywhere.

- The production units arising out of the new technological applications will be most varied, small or medium sized, and need not entail large concentrations: they will make a new policy for the siting of production units possible.
- Traditional production sectors which use unskilled or semi-skilled labour will create few jobs and will demand more highly skilled manpower.

- The large-scale migration of manpower from country districts to industrial basins, from poor countries to industrially advanced countries, will decline, thus making the creation of local jobs increasingly necessary.
- The qualitative demands of workers - to work near home, to have interesting occupations, to take part in communal life and in the production process - will grow and will increasingly influence local and regional employment policies.

Persons active at local and regional level are becoming fully-fledged economic agents and will have to play an increasingly direct part in the creation of activities and jobs.

1.3 Training and adult education as economic and social regulators

In such a situation, the function of education and training is undergoing a radical change.

In the previous economic stage, education and training were gradually organised into a vast system of social selection and of preparation for and conditioning to acceptance of the pyramid and concentration of jobs. They also supplied, directly or indirectly, the skills required by the production systems. Nevertheless, a decisive part in past economic growth was played by manpower mobility.

The function of education and training systems today, regardless of the ideological choices which may be made, will be subjected to radical changes because, for economic and social reasons which none can escape, those systems will have to prepare citizens capable:

- of participating in the creation of activities and jobs and of becoming fully-fledged economic agents;
- of changing skills in the course of working life;
- of participating in economic life, where the demands of flexibility will no longer be content with passive, dependent employees;
- of taking part in exchanges with other countries, including third world countries;
- of accepting slower growth in the standard of living, hence of constructing value systems with a place for "alternative consumption";
- of creating unpaid activities to occupy time left free under a necessary policy of job redistribution.

Permanent education will be an essential and decisive regulator of the new economic, social and cultural policy. It will constitute one of the instruments of economic and social adjustment which our countries will need in order to build a real industrial, local and educational democracy and which will be capable of effecting the

social mobilisation necessary to master the changes on which we are embarked for the benefit of the greatest number.

2. OBJECTIVES OF A LOCAL AND REGIONAL TRAINING POLICY

A local and regional approach by education and training to development problems constitutes a valuable factor of economic and social adjustment to the changes under way.

2.1 Local and regional training programmes

Given the growing importance of the local or micro-regional level in regulating the management and creation of activities and jobs, micro-regional training programmes become an essential complement to regional programming.

Regional and micro-regional programmes for a dynamic, participative approach to education and training problems will entail the introduction of a targeted policy in this area: establishment of machinery for the acquisition and processing of decentralised data, facilities for technical and regional educational project studies, structures for economic and social, local and regional, decision-making, arrangements for distribution and co-ordination between the local, regional, national and community levels.

The pragmatism which formerly passed for method in this field no longer measures up to the challenge, and the risks it involves for development and employment policy are no longer economically or socially acceptable.

Parallel and complementary to the occupational and sectoral approach to education and training problems, inevitably handled at national level and, increasingly, at international level, regional programming of training objectives related to regional development policies or projects will be necessary for proper co-ordination between development, population, employment, qualification and training.

2.1.1 Reasons for a regional approach

Encouragement should be given to the production of regional vocational training plans parallel and complementary to the sectoral plans.

Such arrangements are necessitated by:

- . the partial and growing devolution of centres of economic decision;
- . the need to adjust job supply and demand at local and regional level;
- . the increasing importance of local authorities in economic decisions;
- . the need to adapt training offers to employment trends locally;
- . development of the creation of activities by local enterprise and the growing importance of small and medium-sized businesses in job creation;

- . the growing desire of workers, especially young workers, to live in their home area, etc.

Although economic decisions are also a matter for the local and regional levels, almost all systems of data-gathering and decision-making are still conceived in terms of the centre, which makes local and regional adaptation and adjustment very difficult, particularly in highly centralised states. The general development of industrial production will no longer spontaneously create large numbers of jobs, and the revitalisation and reorganisation of economic activities will depend both on national economic plans and on decentralised enterprise. In some cases, for instance in rural areas, the creation of activities and jobs is becoming the responsibility of the population as a whole. Similarly, simply because of the increasing complexity of the adjustments between training systems and economic and social trends, the place taken by regional decision-makers in co-ordinated vocational training and employment policies, independently or in conjunction with national decision-makers, is bound to grow larger.

2.1.2 Main ingredients of a local and regional training programme

- . To list and analyse regional economic development axes. This involves making an inventory of all the regional economic development axes identified or forecast, determining their implications for manpower policy and working out the kind and number of skills required.
- . To list the unexploited possibilities for regional development (natural resources, unemployed manpower, extension of existing production lines) and refer them to the decision-making authorities. To work out job and qualification structures.
- . To estimate the loss of jobs due to industrial transformations already decided or highly probable.
- . To assess (number and type) the actual stock of skills available in the region, distinguishing between real qualifications and the classification of jobs in collective agreements.
- . To draw up a schedule of vocational training facilities according to training institution and industrial basin.
- . To indicate the correspondences and discrepancies between the stock of regional qualifications, the outflow from training institutions, the outflow from productive life and the short- and medium-term manpower needs of regional productive life and its development.
- . To scrutinise training facilities in order to make them compatible with the needs of economic development. To associate management and labour with this task.
- . To establish and operate continuous arrangements for the acquisition and up-dating of economic, social and demographic information in order to control unemployment inflow and outflow.

2.2 A targeted local and regional policy for the creation of activities and jobs

An evaluation of the projects undertaken in many European countries shows clearly that training enters with increasing frequency, and could do more, into the creation of activities, jobs and businesses: in rural areas, targeted training raises the supply of jobs by at least 10%; for jobs whose creation requires little capital investment, it acts directly as investor.

2.2.1 The scope and limitations of training as a factor in the creation of activities and jobs

It is no longer necessary to stress the importance of carrying out schemes for creating new jobs. All the indicators agree: the primary sector will continue to lose jobs, especially in southern Europe; except in special cases, the secondary sector will no longer provide additional jobs, and the maintenance of those already existing is more than doubtful; the tertiary sector, which has been the main job creator in recent years, will provide fewer new jobs in the future, under the influence of the computerisation of services.

2.2.2 Training schemes for founders of local firms

Various training schemes have been introduced in the last few years. They cover market research, inventories of natural resources and their exploitation; or, more generally, they extend to the whole process of creating businesses enabling collective answers to be given to difficulties which, if unresolved, would wreck most of the projects.

Apart from educational contributions, such as bookkeeping and management, they make it possible:

- . to receive, guide and select candidates for the creation of businesses;
- . to assist in the choice of gaps which can be filled by new businesses and in geographical siting;
- . to follow up and enrich projects for creating businesses;
- . to provide a data bank and constant advice;
- . to provide a context for dealing with problems of social and occupational rehabilitation.

However, these schemes are very scattered because they are implemented mainly on the initiative of training institutions.

The implementation, at regional level, of coherent programmes and strategies for the creation of businesses, related to development and investment policies, would make such enterprises more effective by enabling a new industrial fabric to be formed through joint action.

To achieve this, it is desirable to mobilise a certain number of local and regional forces which are still working too much on their own:

- . development institutions
- . financial authorities and agencies
- . local authorities
- . educators
- . management and labour

These institutions ought all to be able to co-ordinate their activities in a regional context so as to produce and supervise the training programmes for the creation of businesses.

2.2.3 Training at the service of local enterprise in the creation of jobs of communal interest

Some economists place a rational hope in the capacity of local authorities, and the grass-roots level in general, to initiate activities and jobs of "communal interest".

Such ideas fit in particularly well with young people's aspirations to have a different kind of job and to work in their home district. This activity sector, sometimes known as the "Third Sector", is concerned with qualitative needs related to improvement of the quality of life, reform of the life setting and establishment of new social relationships.

They are connected with problems of environment, town planning, health, social welfare, cultural promotion, leisure and services to individuals and communities. Examples of this kind are numerous; while they demonstrate the feasibility of such projects, they also indicate the precautions to be taken:

- . a modicum of social supervision in order to obviate disguised exploitation, especially of young people;
- . clear rules for employed persons and service agreements;
- . a measure of regional co-ordination to ensure that the jobs created correspond to real needs, not satisfied by the state or by private enterprise, that they do not distort the normal operation of the market and that they are economically viable.

The development of this kind of activity depends essentially on the presence of a technical force of stimulation and innovation.

Agencies for the development of activities and employment might be set up to deal with this type of problem. Local authorities, as potential employers, need technical assistance in embarking on projects; but they also need to be warned against starting up risky enterprises.

2.2.4 Training integrated with local development

In the two preceding cases, training, while allowing for economic and other problems affecting the environment, concentrated on individuals and their personal needs; but, in the case of educational schemes integrated with development, training will respond to the needs of a community living in a particular geographical area and confronted by specific economic, social and cultural problems; it will seek to develop the economic fabric of those areas, thus playing both a direct and an indirect part in the creation of activities and jobs.

2.2.5 Creation of unpaid activities

So far, we have mentioned only the creation of paid activities and jobs.

Nobody will fail to recognise the importance of creating, at the same time, unpaid activities for persons who are unemployed, engaged in part-time work or retired, particularly as future social and economic policies will devote increasing attention to leisure.

For the sake of balance, a proper programme for creating and furthering unpaid activities should accompany schemes for creating new activities and jobs, especially in view of the fact that the direct or indirect effects of capacity to develop unpaid activities will increase steadily.

2.3 Training programmes in vulnerable areas: rural areas, urban areas, industrial basins

All systems of organising, managing and financing training facilities are at present based largely on an individual approach. Such an approach is not always the only one possible, and certainly not the most economically efficient, for instance in cases where there is a close, collective relation between individuals' personal problems and their immediate environment: the economic and social behaviour of individuals depends very closely on the whole population of a given geographical area and on local socio-economic conditions.

In such cases, their evolution is governed fundamentally by the ability of the entire community to embark on a process of change. It is hardly necessary to recall that training is not an end in itself and that its results must be assessed in terms of its practical effects.

One cannot qualify people living in declining rural areas without rehabilitating the rural area as a whole and there is little hope of qualifying isolated individuals in an urban concentration without starting a process of rehabilitating the town.

These facts have led some member countries to experiment with schemes for integrated local development.

In this case, it is not only a matter of promoting the organisation, even intensive, of individual training schemes in impoverished areas but of encouraging attempts to provide collective training schemes for local development.

2.3.1 Integrated training for the development of rural areas (1)

In the case of run-down rural areas, the training-for-development project is a comprehensive development project, at once economic and social. This combined approach is made possible by the concentration of productive, residential and servicing structures; the economic decision rests at least in part with the producer-inhabitants of the zone.

In this kind of situation, a new contribution by training to solving employment problems is being worked out through experiment; it is in the line of the community development projects tried out in the third world and proceeds from the same reasoning: educational action is aimed directly at economic and social development.

The criteria for assessing their degree of success are as follows:

- . their contribution to the development of local capacities for initiating, managing, animating, planning and negotiating;
- . new social practices resulting from them: co-operation - forms of association - social and cultural life, not forgetting the population curve;
- . economic practices resulting from them: local investment, maintenance and creation of activities and jobs, autonomous local planning etc.

The chief characteristics of integrated training for local development are as follows:

- It is adapted to run-down rural areas in order to promote autochthonous development compatible with local conditions and effected with citizen participation.
- Its objective is the revitalisation of disadvantaged areas
 - . by redeveloping economic, social and cultural activities (multiple activities)
 - . under the responsibility of the inhabitants
 - . with essentially local resources
 - . without disturbing local balances.

(1) See also Appendix I.

- The training is divided into several phases:
 - . animation and inducement of awareness
 - . study of problems, plan of campaign and organisation
 - . methodological and educational supports
 - . implementation of local initiatives
 - . participative evaluation
 - . administrative and financial management.
- All, or at least a significant percentage, of the population is involved - ie enough to bring about redevelopment.
- At the same time as revitalisation and redevelopment of the fabric of economic activities, and in order to make them possible, objectives of social and cultural reorganisation are pursued; it is a real comprehensive action applied to a geographical area by a responsible population.

Local development officers are technicians prepared to carry out integrated training schemes under the supervision of the population.

2.3.2 Training as an instrument of community development in urban areas (1)

The phenomenon of urban concentration as we know it will continue after the end of the century. This means that, if urbanisation remains as seriously out of control in the future as in the past, the social evils it produces will be amplified. The social snags encountered in these large residential complexes are familiar:

- . higher unemployment rate than the average for town centres
- . low purchasing power of residents and scarcity of jobs
- . very low level of qualification
- . poverty of economic, social and cultural life
- . excessive population density
- . inadequacy of public transport facilities
- . high concentration of migrants' families.

Youth problems are particularly acute because of the high proportion of young people who are neglected by a deficient family and community environment.

Confronted with the deviation phenomena experienced by many of these districts in our member countries, educational action is being stepped up with a view to reducing the growing tensions.

(1) See also Appendix II.

The guidelines for community development schemes are as follows:

- To deal with the problem of the suburbs and town centre at the same time: in order not to heighten the "ghetto" effect, the large residential complexes must be classified as town districts in their own right.
- To eschew a sectoral approach dealing separately with problems of education, training, social and cultural animation, rehabilitation of the built-up zone, creation of activities and jobs.
- Not to deal separately with the problems of different categories of inhabitants - children, young persons, adults, women, migrants - but seek total, complementary, co-ordinated approaches.
- To carry out schemes with the help of the inhabitants.

To apply these principles, it is necessary to establish an integrated animation system in which the various agents will collaborate closely instead of, as too often now, working on their own, not knowing what others are doing or even competing with them.

The local authority must at all costs involve itself in community development schemes.

It is through such systems that youth problems must be tackled as a priority in the large residential complexes.

The problems of migrants must also be taken up through these same systems.

2.3.3 Training as an instrument for bringing employment problems under control in industrial basins undergoing transformation (1)

The demographic and industrial basin is a "real" economic and social entity which unfortunately very seldom corresponds to the administrative boundaries which intersect our countries.

In the event of a serious economic crisis necessitating swift, appropriate action, the official administrative structures may constitute a real obstacle to dealing with local problems. Nor are they better suited to carrying out decentralised tasks of economic and social forecasting at the level of industrial basins.

Facilities for acquiring and processing statistical data rarely coincide with the outlines of industrial basins, and economic decision thus becomes very unreliable.

(1) See also Appendix III.

The need to handle the geographical reality of employment and development has as its counterpart the need to establish arrangements for co-ordinating and stimulating employment corresponding to the industrial basins.

Projects on these lines have been attempted in various member countries. They reveal that a decentralised animation of development, employment and training problems at the level of industrial basins will become fully effective only on certain conditions. Local animation of employment-training development must:

- be incorporated in general economic, social and cultural development projects;
- be capable of co-ordinating training opportunities and adapting them to socio-economic needs;
- extend the content and forms of training activity beyond those of traditional vocational training:
 - . training for local councillors, representatives of management and labour and local government officers in the problems of employment and local development,
 - . integrated training geared to local economic, social and cultural projects,
 - . training for economic agents and decision-makers in their capacity of development officers;

- provide a forum for micro-regional planning;

Publication of firms' recruitment and training policies, the new role of local authorities and the co-ordination of educators should make it possible to work out the foundations of an economic, social and cultural programme capable of issuing in regular local development contracts.

- be able to acquire technical instruments for use by animateurs, mastering local development techniques;
 - . analysis of the industrial basin
(skills lacking, training potential, prospects for job creation, main occupational sectors, obstacles to local development ...),
 - . assessment of activities,
 - . aid for job creation plans, particularly jobs emanating from local enterprise;
- establish liaison with regional and sectoral programmes and co-operate closely with employment agencies.

The chief obstacle to such arrangements is that they seldom correspond to the administrative and economic divisions of our countries, conceived for management and not for the targeted stimulation of development.

A satisfactory relationship has still to be found between the function of administrative management and the dynamic management of development: it is essential for the efficacy of employment policies and for the increased profitability of investments made by the member countries.

2.4 Integrating the training of priority groups with local development: young people, women, migrants, handicapped persons, the elderly etc.

2.4.1 Towards a local, community approach to priority groups

The relatively marginal situation of the groups which are the subject of specific vocational training measures must be explained first as the result of the social and economic policies pursued in our various countries. Excluded from or victims of growth and penalised by the unequal distribution of the social product, at the same time objects of social policies designed to mitigate their marginality, or to facilitate their integration or reintegration in active, productive life, these categories represent the guilty conscience of our industrial societies; young people, women, migrants, the unemployed, elderly persons, the physically and mentally handicapped, prisoners etc accordingly benefit by specific educational measures in the member countries.

Since the underlying causes of the situation of these groups are primarily economic and sociological, training can contribute only partially, though often appreciably, to the improvement of their lot.

Owing to the scale of the alienation phenomena, the concept of underprivileged groups is often overlaid today by that of underprivileged areas, regions or even countries: devitalised rural areas, industrial areas in recession, declining urban areas now contain a large percentage of those groups, with the consequence that their concentration tends to exacerbate their fringe position.

In some countries, the phenomenon of alienation affects large sections of the population and constitutes a serious bar to economic and social development; when a region or country still has an illiteracy rate of 40-50%, or when half its population has been unable to complete compulsory schooling, it cannot catch up with the regions and countries most advanced industrially.

Marginality is liable to be intensified by an over-individualised training system rather than by educational action as such.

Emphasis should be placed on a geographical, community approach to these groups, so that the educational process will not increase marginalisation but promote reintegration; these groups can reap the most benefit from training if it is related to local and regional development.

2.4.2 Towards a specific approach to priority groups

The educational backwardness of these groups, however, calls for specific measures regarding the quantity and quality of training offered them.

They must not only be given precedence in access to training: in view of their disadvantages, they must be provided with means of information, training methods and contents and a rate of training that will enable them to make good some of the lost ground and fit into the customary training processes.

3. CONDITIONS FOR A TRAINING POLICY INTEGRATED WITH LOCAL AND REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT

An approach to adult education better integrated with local and regional development requires the satisfaction of a number of conditions which, it must be confessed, exist at present only in experimental situations. An assessment of the pilot schemes carried out by the Council of Europe through its Steering Group on Permanent Education and Project Group on the "Development of Adult Education" suggests the following conditions as being particularly important:

3.1 A close connection between development policy, objectives and training programmes

It is necessary on each occasion to make a close analysis of the objectives of local and regional development, to highlight the development factors with which training may provide a support or solution: discovery of local potentialities, mobilisation of forces, introduction to methods of action and assessment, acquisition of vocational and social skills, familiarisation with economic and social approaches at once individual and collective.

Such a connection entails close collaboration and co-ordination between development and training institutions, between economic and educational officials.

3.2 Demarcation of homogeneous geographical areas corresponding to demographic and industrial basins

This will be determined by the principal common needs, problems and economic interests of the inhabitants; it implies an economic, social and cultural territory for which the population has a sense of both belonging and dependence, criss-crossed by a network of exchanges and communications, of a size such that the inhabitants can identify with it and have direct or indirect access to economic and social decisions.

3.3 A strategy for balanced growth conducive to genuine development

The purpose of such a strategy will be a right balance between the quantitative and qualitative aspects of growth, the benefit of the community in its entirety, the reduction of social inequalities and the maintenance of a constructive relationship between economic, social and cultural development.

3.4 Co-ordination between officers engaged in educational work

These officers may be either directly or indirectly involved at local and/or regional level: adult educators, animateurs from public services, associations or firms, social workers, technical officers concerned with agriculture, trade, the crafts or tourism, health, information and town planning personnel; but representatives of the world of labour, local authorities, the churches, voluntary agencies etc are also included.

3.5 Local and regional programming of training activities based on participation, integration and co-ordination

This constitutes a technical and political instrument essential for the implementation of a local approach to training. It is the concrete expression of the local democracy and social control necessary for this kind of undertaking and, at the same time, the technical tool needed in order to co-ordinate activities carried out by the various partners involved.

3.6 A specific local and regional organisation

This is necessary in order to follow up such an approach. The establishment of a local organisation capable of running a training-for-development scheme raises complex problems whenever it is desired to go beyond the experimental stage and to universalise an approach to training integrated with local and regional development. The excessive "sectoralisation" of training and development activities, due to the operation of central bureaucracies mirrored at regional and local level, constitutes the chief obstacle to an integrated approach such as we have sought to outline here. Excessive sectoralisation of official action undoubtedly slows down local development, just as unwarranted aggregation ("globalisation") of activities may lead to an equally reprehensible "localist" approach.

The future programme of the Council of Europe should devote special attention to the typology of local and regional training-for-development schemes and to the nature of the relations to be established between the local, regional, national and even community (cf assistance by the European Social Fund) levels in order that the population may reap the greatest benefit from them.

Over the short term, bearing in mind the obstacles which confront any organisation which sets out to be too hastily integrated, it is desirable to design flexible institutional machinery (missions-associations) enabling institutional agents to become gradually "acclimatised" to new forms of distribution of their traditional prerogatives.

3.7 Local development officers

These are essential for the operation of such decentralised arrangements; their functions, qualifications, status and training are gradually being worked out in the course of current experiments (1).

(1) "Local Development Officers", Council of Europe, 1981.

Apart from educational and training tasks in the strict sense, they must be able, both through their own competence and by reason of their institutional position, to handle, and help others to handle, the technical and political aspects of the relationship between development, participation, programming, training and assessment. Development officers should not be set over the population but should be at their service.

A P P E N D I X I

THE ROLE OF ADULT EDUCATION IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF RURAL AREAS

by Vernon SMITH, United Kingdom

Until recently national and regional development policies in the predominantly industrialised countries of Western Europe have tended to focus on the activities of large-scale enterprises, on expansion in industrial output and on the generation of wage employment. Social and cultural development have received far less attention. And in spite of lip-service being paid to the importance of education and training as an "investment in human skills", the role of the education system has been assumed to be marginal to the main process of development.

In contrast, the development strategies of the predominantly rural countries of the third world have given much greater prominence to community development and to adult education programmes, seeing these as integral parts of an overall development policy which also encompasses expansion in agricultural and industrial production. It is true, of course, that the problems of industrial and pre-industrial societies are substantially different. However, in the case of many less-developed countries we are looking not only at pre-industrial societies, but at societies where the ideals of industrialisation and urbanisation are now regarded with deep suspicion. Disillusionment with capital-intensive urban development programmes over the last two decades has given rise to a new enthusiasm for smaller-scale, people-centred rural development strategies. The message preached by René Dumont 20 years ago is finally taking effect!

Coombs and Ahmed, in their analytical study of Non-Formal Education (for the World Bank), describe the principles lying behind these new approaches:

"The proponents of the self-help approach to rural development ... respect the power of science and technology, but put their basic faith in the adaptability of human beings ... They place heavy reliance on education - but a kind of education much broader, more subtle and more inner-directed than that associated with formal schooling. They have no fixed pedagogical models, dogmas or techniques, save the basic principles that learning comes from action, that development itself is educational, and that villagers learn best from teachers with the same background."

Coombs and Ahmed (1974) p. 66

President Julius Nyerere, President of Tanzania and one-time Honorary President of the International Council for Adult Education, has clearly described the humanistic perspective on adult education and development:

"Development has a purpose; that purpose is the liberation of Man ... This means that adult education has to be directed at helping men develop themselves ... for adult education is the key to development of free men and free societies. Its function is to help men to think for themselves, to make their own decisions, and to execute those decisions for themselves."

Nyerere (1976)

There are those who would argue that the situation in the developed countries of Europe is so different from that in the third world that a quite separate set of principles must be applied to the problems of education and development in industrial societies - in both rural and urban contexts. However, it is noteworthy that a number of the general principles elaborated in the recent CDCC project on adult education appear to match well with the principles outlined in the quotations above.

- The principle of GLOBALISATION implies that it is necessary to take into consideration the entire person within the entire environment, that education should be built into the elements of everyday life and that it should provide an effective means of acting on the environment.
- The principle of INTEGRATION assumes that there should be a co-ordinated approach to the planning and implementation of education, social, economic and cultural programmes.
- The principle of DE-CENTRALISATION recognises that needs differ markedly between localities, that co-operation between services is often more practicable at local than at regional and national levels, and that adult education is concerned with the promotion of autonomy and self-management skills for communities as well as for individuals.

It is likely that we should find widespread agreement on the desirability of pursuing a "globalised" approach to the provision of educational programmes and on adopting an "integrated" approach to the planning and execution of development activities (- though actual practise diverges widely from these ideals). "Decentralisation" may be a different matter. There are many who would insist that development planning can only be effective when centrally co-ordinated and directed. In the case of rural areas, however, it can equally well be argued that the marginal status of such areas in industrial societies, and their general neglect, are a direct consequence of the centralised approach to economic planning characteristic of the past few decades. In a case study on the Western Isles of Scotland prepared for the OECD/CERI project on Education and Local Development Tom Gjeltten advances the view that the revival of communities in such isolated rural areas is totally dependent on a decentralised approach to development and on locally-originated initiatives.

"All the projects derive from a single strategy. They are all efforts to re-assert local prerogative and support local initiative, and are all motivated by the same underlying assumption: Development

work must be comprehensive. It must produce the economic growth which is necessary to sustain the local population, but it must also increase people's capacity to direct their own lives. The idea is that development must be locally controlled, if it is to provide lasting benefits, and as much work must go into making that possible as goes into economic organisation. It is a complex task. A major problem facing the development workers is the question of how their projects can be sustained and eventually institutionalised, and in what form. It is not enough that both cultural and economic development take place; for everything to work right, the development ventures must be integrated and co-ordinated."

Gjeltén (1981) p. 5

In this particular rural community, with its own distinctive cultural and linguistic features, the creation of new local government structures for the area was probably a crucial factor.

However, we should not confine ourselves to a discussion of remote and under-developed rural areas. Within Europe a wide variety of rural situations may be found at different stages of development. Such variety does not easily lend itself to simple categorisation, but at this stage it may be useful to distinguish three broadly different contexts:

- Extensive under-developed rural areas in a predominantly PRE-INDUSTRIAL context
- Rural areas (including remote and isolated areas) required to co-exist with urban INDUSTRIAL societies
- Rural communities affected by the consequences of POST-INDUSTRIAL change

Different combinations of all three types of situation may be found within any individual country.

In the first case, development strategies for populous under-developed rural areas are likely to be associated with overall national development policies for the country as a whole - incorporating improvement of infrastructure services, expansion in health, education and social amenities, as well as general increases in per capita production.

In the second case, rural areas appended to predominantly industrialised societies are likely to suffer from the general consequences of "marginality". Problems associated with distance are compounded by a decline in transport and communication systems; urban drift gives rise to a steadily ageing population: cultural life and amenities are threatened. In such contexts a specific commitment to rural development strategies is required to prevent social and economic decline.

In the third case, it is now evident that a number of areas in Europe are beginning to experience the effects of a reverse drift of population back into rural areas, associated with post-industrial trends. The new rural dwellers include prosperous citizens determined to further improve their living standards by moving out of congested urban centres into the greater spaciousness of the rural environment. A second category incorporates a mixture of romantics and realists, disillusioned with industrial and economic values, and concerned to develop more harmonious and creative lifestyles in a rural context. In some circumstances the new migrants are likely to provide a stimulus to economic and social development in the areas to which they move. Development strategies, however, must take account of differences in culture and expectation between the local population and the "in-comers".

In the majority of cases the fundamental economic problem of rural areas is perceived to be lack of employment and a low income-earning capacity. The fundamental social problems - erosion of culture, amenities, values and the capacity for initiative - are increasingly seen as being integrally related to economic problems. Economic planners are motivated to adopt integrated development policies as a means of achieving economic improvement. Community developers, on the other hand, see integrated development programmes as a means of promoting social and cultural development.

There is a growing recognition on the part of various specialists of the need for integrated approaches of this kind.

Where does this leave the adult educator? There are those who would argue that the education system is part of the problem rather than part of the solution. Large secondary schools are concentrated in a few main centres, forcing young people to travel out of their home area to complete their school education. Opportunities at college or at university are then only available in more distant urban centres. Social and economic leadership is thus drained from the rural hinterland; urban drift is built into the system. In addition, the education system often lacks sufficient flexibility to respond to practical learning needs in the immediate environment.

"It is no accident that many countries have found it necessary to develop agricultural extension services outside the framework of other educational services. The normal mode of much educational activity is with groups, rather than individuals; within a building rather than outside it; with development of skills for subsequent application rather than working on the real life situation directly. Adult education is ill-prepared by its traditional practices to operate within life rather than outside it."

(Walter James) Council for Cultural Co-operation (1980), p. 59

Further, the weaknesses and fragmentary or one-sided approaches that have characterised the economic development policies of the past have also characterised arrangements within the education and training system. Those agencies concerned with social education and cultural promotion have often been sharply divided from agencies concerned with vocational education and industrial training. Specialisation by level of education and by type of education has perhaps produced benefits of an organisational kind, but it is not always clear that it has also extended the general range of education and training opportunities available to all sections of the community. The needs of women, of working people, of older people and of rural communities have been sadly neglected in many cases. Our assumption must be that the principle of integration should apply within the education service as well as between the education service and other agencies concerned with the development process. In many areas this will require exploration of new ways in which formal and non-formal education, vocational training and general cultural education can be harnessed jointly to serve the learning needs of particular local communities. Adult education programmes which satisfy the three basic principles of globalisation, integration and decentralisation would need to:

- take into consideration the entire person within the entire environment
- be built into the elements of everyday life
- provide an effective means of acting on the environment
- be integrated with other social, economic and cultural activities
- be designed to promote the needs of local people
- encourage local autonomy and self-management skills.

Additionally, to take account of the particular needs and problems of rural areas they would need also to:

- promote local culture and values
- encourage the development of income-generating activities
- take account of underemployment problems and the need, in some cases, to promote multi-occupational opportunities
- counteract tendencies towards depopulation and urban drift
- assist the process of assimilating "in-comers" into a new cultural environment
- take into account problems of distance, communication and isolation
- promote access to mainstream education, training and cultural opportunities, without undermining local culture and provision.

Adult education is primarily about development - the development of people. Agencies concerned with adult education and training should, therefore, be directly involved both in the development planning process and at the stage of project implementation. Within the context of new adult education structures recently introduced on an experimental basis in Turkey the following responsibilities of adult education and programming officers have been identified:

- a. identification of ongoing and planned development activities in the target areas ...
- b. assessment of the role of adult education in the projects ...
- c. participation in the preparation and planning of development activities ...
- d. designing of educational or training programmes with alternative systems of delivery ...
- e. mobilisation of personnel, materials and resources for the implementation of the programme ...
- f. establishment of an effective communication system with the local population ...
- g. organisation of educational support ...
- h. participation in the evaluation of the impact of the programme ...

Council for Cultural Co-operation
(1981), p. 13

In most countries, however, there is no formal co-ordinated structure relating adult education and development. The means by which the contribution of adult education to the development process may be most effectively co-ordinated with the activities of other technical, commercial and social agencies is a matter requiring urgent consideration by policy-makers.

Adult educators themselves - both in formal institutions and those engaged in the provision of non-formal education - must take a fresh look at their role in rural areas. Fundamentally their role should be a servicing one - promoting opportunities for personal, cultural, occupational and community development. In practice there is rarely an appropriate balance between these different areas of educational activity, and responsiveness to locally identified learning needs is often restricted by inadequate or inflexible administrative procedures - and sometimes by the demands of centrally-administered examination systems.

Increasingly the principles of "open learning" are coming to influence new developments in adult education and training. Open learning systems emphasise the needs of individual learners, the importance of making educational opportunities more accessible to ordinary people and the responsibility of providing agencies (colleges, libraries, resource centres, broadcasting organisations, specialist distance learning institutions) for offering appropriate assistance to learners - books, learning aids, advisory services, tuition, study facilities, individualised study packages, etc. Distance learning and individualised study programmes are particularly suited to the needs of many people in rural areas.

Agricultural extension agencies and co-operatives have played a particularly important role in the development of such learning materials. However, there are many other kinds of education for which few, if any, suitable distance learning materials have been produced. In several countries this will be an area of activity meriting early attention. In some cases existing educational agencies might be encouraged to take on responsibility for the development of learning packages; in other cases it may be more appropriate to establish an institution specifically to promote this area of work.

There is also another sense in which adult educators may be expected to perform a servicing role. Educational programmes designed to meet the needs of local people, to encourage local self-management and to integrate economic, social and cultural activities are often most effectively undertaken by local people, local leaders, or by appropriate specialists.

"Local mobilisation of educational 'resources' entails the association of all services of a social nature, which entails educational training of staff concerned with social action or administration, so that they can assume tasks of guidance, animation and training proper in their specific field".

(Council for Cultural Co-operation)
(1980) p. 110

In some cases, therefore, adult educators, rather than being expected to directly undertake a teaching role, may be called upon to provide training and support services for others engaged in this task.

CONCLUSIONS

Europe now has a great deal to learn from experience in the third world. In a number of predominantly rural countries adult education plays a crucial role in both community and economic development. As we move further towards a "post-industrial" phase, with greater emphasis being given to local (micro) rather than national (macro) activity and to qualitative rather than quantitative development, much third world experience will appear increasingly relevant. Activities described within the recent CDCC adult education project - especially some of those in southern Europe - already illustrate the integration of adult education with other services in some recent rural development programmes (cf The Mogadouro Project, Portugal, described in Council for Cultural Co-operation, 1981, (p. 34).

Economic planners must learn to give full value to the human dimensions of change and development. Social policy makers must avoid the tendency to focus on social welfare and to ignore the connections between community development and economic development. Educators must learn to work together with others and to understand the implications both of "considering the entire person in the entire environment" and of ensuring that education is built into the very elements of everyday life. Above all there must be an increasing willingness to encourage local people in rural areas to determine their own agenda.

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APPENDIX II

THE ROLE OF ADULT EDUCATION IN RELATION TO THE REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT OF URBAN AREAS

by Ole GAY, Denmark

The Transformation of Adult Education

Adult education in its traditional conception can be characterised today as a social system living its own life.

Conceived in this way as a special system primarily functioning as an appendix to the formal education system, adult education can only remedy minor imbalances in the adult population or transfer existing knowledge to those adults who are interested.

Adult education working only with traditional methods of classroom-learning and with the contents of a specified curriculum has no possibility to help society undergo significant social changes and overall development. As a closed system, adult education can only have a superficial, fragmentary impact on life.

The dream of adult education in the seventies that it was the system which could save underprivileged groups in the adult population turned out to be a nightmare of the system's own incapability of reaching out to the population at large.

The institutions of adult education today can be perceived as the prisons (or ivory towers) of learning processes. With teachers as the guards they ensure that learning can take place only after specifying the curriculum, and the physical and temporal conditions in which the students are to learn, all of which is then "evaluated" by means of an externally set examination.

Looking at the processes of learning as exclusive activities only implies that adults will become increasingly unaware of the fact that they are learning all the time in their everyday lives and "learning" will be perceived as being the privilege of exclusive groups of the adult population who are taken care of by the adult education system. The teachers would turn out to be the caretakers of learning processes which should be an integral part of the social life of Man.

The transformation of adult education implies an emphasis on learning processes which is reflected in the interplay between different structures in society; some of them would be the traditional structures of adult education but others would be those of real life, where learning also takes place.

Adult education must not be an exclusive activity but an integrated activity of Man and his social life.

The Urban Intellectual Tradition

"Basically, the tradition of the western enlightenment is an urban tradition, one which has seen the urban area as a centre of culture and a civilising force. The countryside is crude and vulgar, the bastion of narrow-minded and reactionary traditions."

M Oppenheimer

The old masters of Durkheim and Marx followed up the idea of enlightenment in the 19th century, spelling out that only the city could be the arena of humanisation. Of course, they had not seen the cities of today!

The roots of that line of thinking implied the urban way of life was best, both for the individual and society; the development of urban areas is synonymous with that of society; power is concentrated in the urban areas; industrialisation is another way of urban life and so on.

Urban life and its characteristics have shaped a human being, who is individualised, contractual and mechanical (Gesellschaft), playing several different roles in his social life. Membership of groups is fluid; Man therefore tries to create for his own well-being, a synthetic identity of his own (suburbs looking like each other, deprived areas with pseudo-communities etc). This search for an identity expresses itself in different forms of social activities (eg gangs and bands, the playing of bingo, traditional adult education as leisure time activities etc).

This multiplicity of roles indicates that man only functions in different group-settings with a single segment of his personality. The neighbourhood ceases to be a meaningful unit of life - Man has lost his totality or meaning in life.

The Urban Model

The urban model can be sketched as categories of aspects and problems of urban life.

Aspects	Problems
Specialisation	Physical resources
Differentiation	Transportation
Secularisation	Communication
Rationalisation	Housing
Bureaucratisation	Employment
Centralisation	Retailing
Equalisation	Recreation
Democratisation	Crime
etc	Representation
	etc.

There is no direct connection between the aspects of urban tradition and the problems involved. The problems are the effects of urban life.

Adult Education and the Urban Way of Life

Adult education has won and lost its greatest battles in the urban areas.

Adult education has won because the traditional adult education system is based on the urban model of specialisation and quantification. It has lost because it has not succeeded in reaching all groups in society, or in building bridges from the classrooms to real life.

What adult education has won in specialisation, it has lost in generalisation.

What adult education has won quantitatively, it has lost in qualitative terms.

Adult Education as a Process-oriented View

Adult education should establish and develop a variety of learning networks in specific social contexts. The content and form of each of the learning networks will depend on the social context involved - and the responsibility for the development of the activities must lie with the persons themselves.

In the development of learning networks, adult education should recognise four patterns:

1. Adult learning as integrated dynamic processes of experience between individuals, groups, organisations, societies and the physical environment.
2. Adult learning projects as deliberately decided programmes of learning developed by individuals or groups in a specific social context with the goal of evolving experience.
3. Adult learning partnership as an exchange and development of experience between the persons involved without the fixed roles of teacher and learner.
4. Adult learning networks as a special structure created for specific functions in a particular social context to channel the experiences of the people involved.

The adult learning networks can be developed into a range of open systems between different levels of society characterised by (1):

- a. self-organisation, self-determination and self-renewal
- b. positive feedback
- c. order through fluctuation

(1) I am indebted to Erich Jantsch (University of California) of giving inspiration to the general frame of process-oriented view of reality, and to Ilya Prigogine for the conceptualisation of "order through fluctuation".

The Claim of Self-organisation, Determination and Renewal

This claim in adult education implies that the responsibility for the goals, content, form and assessment of learning processes is given back to the people involved, irrespective of the level of organisation, ie devolution and democratisation.

Every individual and group can manage more learning and social change by themselves, if they have the self-confidence, the opportunity and the courage to develop the activities themselves.

Unless the individual is learning himself, social learning is meaningless. This implies a decentralisation of adult education to the local community level where people can learn within an overall framework created at national, regional and local level.

The Claim of Positive Feedback

This claim has two implications. Firstly that learning processes are adaptable to a specific social context. Secondly that the development of experience of the learning group will in practice change specific conditions of the social context (and thereby change the life chances of the individuals involved).

The Claim of Order through Fluctuation

This claim implies the possibility of explaining and directing social change with a simultaneous consideration of the structures and functions of a specific social context.

Order through Fluctuation in Traditional Adult Education

Example on structure

An increase in the number of students in adult education will give rise to fluctuations which will not necessarily disrupt the structures of adult education, if the system has enough money, teachers, classrooms etc. available. If the fluctuation is small, it will not change the structures of adult education. But if the number of students increases above a certain level, the fluctuation will be so great that there will be an irrecoverable disruption and a new structure will arise (if the politicians allow this to take place).

Example on function

As adult education is still split up into specific curricula, the needs of the students can only be fulfilled if there are teachers to teach the specific subjects. New subjects can arise as small fluctuations which can be catered for within the system if adult education can find new teachers capable of teaching the new subjects. Adult education will not break down! But if new functions arise which adult education has not handled before and cannot handle in the traditional way, the fluctuation will imply that the functions of adult education will break down and a new order will emerge if, at least, the system can manage to change its activities.

The traditional way of looking at fluctuations is to look at them in isolation. Organisations discuss their structures (the distribution of responsibility) without discussing their functions (activities) and vice versa. But order is not created in this way because a timelag arises between the relevant structure and function. Order only arises when the fluctuation of structure and function are handled simultaneously!

The Fluctuations of Society

Society and other social systems are governed in the same way by fluctuations. Fluctuations behave like icebergs - you only see the top of them. In urban areas we have the problems of housing, transportation, employment, suicide, crime and recreation caused by the interplay of different fluctuations. These problems can only be solved by creating new orders in functions and structures.

Adult education could play a role in the creating of these new orders if it could deliberately use the adult learning processes between different levels and sectors. This would also change adult education!

The development of adult learning processes as an integrated dynamic system in society will imply that the learning networks will penetrate all levels of society and adult education will be recognised as a dynamic system dealing with the political, social, economic, and cultural activities of life.

Conclusions for further work

Practical implications

- a. Different projects of learning processes in urban areas must be carefully described - discerning between traditional adult education and process-oriented adult education:

(This should be quite easy as we know the traditional adult education and we know the learning processes exist in real life. We have perhaps not seen them as we have taken them for granted or not been able to see the wood for the trees).

- b. Special projects of learning processes must be initiated in urban areas where adult education can be perceived as an integral part of the social processes of political, economic, and cultural life of the individual and his societies.

Theoretical implications

- a. Further work must be done in the area of theoretical conceptualisation and the development of process-oriented adult education in urban areas.
- b. Special interest should be directed on theoretical work as examples of existing learning processes:
 1. The learning processes of language which can be taught in classroom-settings and be learnt in real life-situations.
 2. The learning processes of folklorism (in the German tradition) where non-written transference of traditions, norms etc has great importance to human culture (especially for children).
 3. The learning processes of conspiracy and manipulation as an integral part of the decision processes of social systems at different levels.

ADULT EDUCATION IN AREAS UNDERGOING INDUSTRIAL
TRANSFORMATION

by Jean-Louis JACQUET, France

In 1979, the Siena Symposium of the Council for Cultural Co-operation put forward a number of recommendations concerning an adult education policy. Their assumptions were clearly set forth and included: the existence of genuine industrial democracy, the appearance of an authentic local democracy and the need for a far-reaching - and at the same time clear-cut - decentralisation of education. These three conditions, conducive to the development of adult education, have never been so important as in the case of areas undergoing industrial transformation or reconversion.

1. Existence of an industrial democracy

When the 1 200 jobs in the footwear industry at Fougères disappear, or when the lignite pit of Aichfield-Murboden in Austria is closed, or when any other European region sees the collapse, in a few months or years, of the mono-industrial sector or the single firm which, for decades if not centuries, dominated the economy of a valley, municipality or area, the economic mechanisms of free enterprise generate the same behavioural patterns and bring about the same effects. In most cases information reaches the wage-earners, and then the public authorities, at the last minute and in the ultimate stage of disappearance or liquidation in an attempt to make good previous bad management or lack of foresight, or the inability of the sector or company to diversify or re-orientate its activities if not its workers. There are few cases - and Aichfield-Murboden is perhaps one of them - where the firm or sector comes to grips with the problem sufficiently soon by agreeing to a change of behaviour in the sense of an egalitarian sharing of industrial power. Managers and directors keep this power in their own hands, as far as they can, until the bitter end, even when it involves laying off staff or destroying a local micro-economy at one fell swoop. The workers, public authorities and municipal councillors called to the rescue are only consulted for the purpose of relieving and comforting the last moments of the dying enterprise, and particularly of giving a democratic tone to the handling of a tragic socio-economic situation. Economic information about the management and future of the firm, participation by employees in major policy decisions relating to the activity of the sector or business, acknowledgement of the equal weight of labour in relation to capital at such times, these cannot be reduced to abrupt, embarrassed consultations at the eleventh hour: the data have been sifted, the decisions ... taken. From the employer's point of view, it is to ignore the role of collective and social control that can be played by a real industrial democracy; from that of permanent education, it is to forget that industrial democracy is in itself an educational process: for decades, thousands of trade unionists have learnt economics and management, discovered and mastered the play of social relations, come to terms with all forms of written and spoken expression, while the

educational systems had given them only the minimum or less - and that on a basis of inequality. It is in understanding and demanding this industrial democracy that many workers have known their richest moments and their only hours of training and social advancement - collectively, moreover. For institutional educational systems are generally organised on a basis of individual competition; but the social advancement by which each of these activists has been able to benefit in the fight for industrial democracy was first collective, thus complying with an essential condition of permanent education.

This approach is still valid in the case of firms which move in to replace others where that is practicable. For, while a business which closes down or lays off staff may be tempted to relinquish its problem and hand it over to the social organisations, workers or municipalities, the opposite tendency may be observed in those which settle in, but with similar behaviour patterns in respect of clinging to power. At that moment, in particular, behind the resounding declarations of interest, collaboration and participation in local development, there may be discerned a constant, increasing obscurity about the development policy of the sector or company, about its decisions and about its recruitment and training policy, areas in which it refuses to enter into a dialogue except where it cannot be avoided (fire stations, schools, unskilled manpower). That obscurity applies as much to contacts outside the firm as to its workers. No structure, even internal and trade unionist, is in a position today to share in the reserved "industrial power" of a firm which is liquidating its assets and staff or has just moved in, even in the name of the state, through legislative measures or the appointment of suitable managers. Thus the clarity and democratisation of recruitment and training policy are often a snare and a delusion. It accordingly appears that the development of adult education must pass by way of a strengthening of industrial democracy and extend to control or veto by the workers' representative bodies. From the angle of permanent education in areas undergoing reconversion, the appearance of democratic dialogue within the firm will have two immediate effects of supreme importance:

- the clarity, hence the possibility of programming them, of the recruitment, dismissal or training policies of sectors or firms;
- conversion of participation in the activity and future of a business into an individual and collective educational and promotional process.

The transition of a company to an advanced level of industrial democracy is bound to be accompanied by the development of local democracy. Its authenticity will be a decisive factor in assessing the critical situation of areas undergoing industrial transformation.

2. Towards genuine local democracy

Local democracy depends primarily on recognition of the social movement, its mode of representation and the weight given to it, then on the ability of a population to procure a local development plan.

The combination of these elements is clearly an essential condition for the management of industrial basins in a state of crisis.

In the case of areas undergoing industrial transformation, the socio-cultural changes brought about by economic destabilisation have to be measured, for they carry the germs of the social movement. Briefly, the most important are:

- disintegration of the social fabric (change in occupational skills, departures and arrival of new inhabitants, often of foreign nationality, risk of breaches between groups of the population attached to different sectors etc);
- anxiety at the arrival or departure of old or new techniques on which the local community was based, both on the social and on the cultural level. It should be noted that local cultures derived directly from occupational cultures are appearing in regions of long-standing industrialisation;
- changes due to women working: revolution in family habits, with the danger of disruption of the family nucleus. In this connection, the most conservative behaviour patterns are found in working class circles;
- integration in a general plan, with numerous intermediaries, liable to be implemented outside the informal or neighbourhood information circuits;
- ecological anxieties connected with the environment and life setting;
- misunderstanding or, on the contrary, sudden recognition of the economic, social and cultural future of the district, county, region;
- disappearance or introduction of commercial taxes, which affect the financial resources making for a pleasanter or harder local life;
- personal psychological disturbances due to change or loss of job;
- vocational channels for young people going away or working near home;
- different attitude to work (arrival of countryfolk on public works sites);
- adjustment to a new social environment: modern architecture, more complicated communal facilities (disappearance of the "pub" as a cultural meeting place, for instance).

Local democracy, which turns civic life into an educational process, must make allowance for the social movement generated by these socio-cultural rifts. To be sure, each of these changes individually requires and warrants a specific educational response just as, at a more formal,

institutional level, there must be close primary interrelations between each response in order to arrive at a general permanent education policy; but that policy will be effective only if the organisational and representational aspects of the social movement, and not only its adult education aspect, are taken into account.

If the elective body of a municipality or group of municipalities can generally be regarded as the most suitable and accessible for interpreting and guiding the social movement arising in areas undergoing industrial transformation, this implies that municipalities should be given a role or status other than that of transmission belts for planners or firms or the state, or even the region. Hence, in the context of general, regionalised planning, they should be masters of their own economic and educational destiny. Facilities for creating jobs, facilities for taking industrial soundings, powers of taxation, assignment of economic functions, powers in the matter of vocational training, forecasting and analytical instruments, incentives etc, programming over several years, dealing on equal terms with out-stations of government departments: these are a few basic factors which could bring about a welcome revival of municipal life and, at the same time, by bringing the centres of decision closer to the people, confer definite educational potentialities on local life, thereby strengthening the individual and collective responsibility of every citizen.

But the various recorded experiences of transforming industrial areas or regions show that lack of a development plan is followed by failure. For the tendency of municipalities, the state and companies is generally to apply, on exceptional occasions, a collection of measures most of which are ad hoc and short-term. These correspond to the situation at the moment of transformation, but they do not give councillors, development officers, social groups or socio-occupational agencies the opportunity to consider and propose jointly a comprehensive development plan for the district or region concerned. Yet the joint production of such a plan, going well beyond the mere replacement of one factory by another, is both possible and necessary. It is necessary in order to instal economic strategies and cultivate human resources capable, for example, of delivering a valley from dependence on a single industry or converting an extraneous operation into a factor of home-based development (big work-sites). It is possible, because these areas undergoing industrial transformation are almost always characterised by a marked cultural unity conducive to the growth of local forms of solidarity. These cultural foundations, moreover, are of two kinds: either they are powerful regional or local cultures, which underlie and sometimes inspire the social movement in dealing with transformation, or else they are cultures occupational in origin, related to the industrial activity of the region or area, and still more bound up with the social movement. In either case they constitute, in all regions which have remained on the fringe or under the control of age-old colonisation by the centralising state, powerful sources of proposals for a comprehensive plan for local society. If provided with machinery for decision and forecasting, they are fully as capable as any planner of programming realistic development on a medium-term if not a long-term view.

3. Educational Decentralisation

While the success of the industrial transformation of a region depends on the birth of a real industrial democracy and a working local democracy, it will come to nothing without educational decentralisation. This must be based on the following factors:

1. Individual, specific resources within the framework of national, regional and local programming.
2. Transfer of decisions to municipalities or inter-municipal districts; flexibility and adaptation of institutions, methods and training programmes.
3. Aggregation and recognition of all educational needs in the light of a local development plan.
4. Interaction between formal education and informal education emanating from the social movement.
5. Inter-institutional consideration of employment and training problems in relation to real economic flows (industrial basin).

3.1 Specific resources

The industrial transformation of a region is a situation which, even if it is becoming common in a world where the pace of economic movements is growing faster, remains a crisis situation. For this reason ordinary financial and institutional resources are unsuitable. It is therefore desirable to establish emergency assistance procedures which meet four requirements: they must look beyond the cyclical short term, be negotiated at national, regional and local level, be incorporated in a programme covering several years, and lend themselves to fairly flexible application by the local interested parties.

3.2 Transfer of decisions to municipalities or inter-municipal districts

Changes in technological curricula for young persons and adults must be the prerogative of the most decentralised level in the case of areas undergoing transformation. Vocational training subjects and methods must be negotiated and examined at the time with the firms in liquidation or those moving in. Educators must be retrained at the outset of the transformation exercise. Finally, training institutions must, on the one hand, eschew institutional and academic rivalries by organising collective, co-ordinated facilities, provided mainly by the public sector, and, on the other, be responsive to discussion and to social, cultural and economic promptings in favour of broader, more informal and less traditionally academic educational openings. They must consent to be no longer the initiators of training schemes but to become suppliers, complying with specifications which are sometimes demanding as regards scheduling, quality and quantity.

3.3 Aggregation of educational schemes

We have seen what are the requirements of local democracy and the socio-cultural changes induced by industrial transformation. The educational machine must be capable of responding to all those needs. Only then will a little headway be made in the matter of adult education.

3.4 Interaction between formal and informal education

The critical situation due to transformation is begetting a social movement which finds expression in various social groups or in the formation of associations or even at individual level. Formal education, being normative, programmed and pragmatic, is not adapted immediately to the recognition of educational demands put forward by such modes of social expression. The pressure of local crisis offers a unique opportunity for interaction and contact, if not for joint planning, between the two kinds of education, without the richness of the informal education movement being stifled by over-organisation. In this connection, attention should be paid to collective training schemes which must respond coherently to the demand by groups and inhabitants where they are living and where they want to go on working.

3.5 Inter-institutional consideration

The importance of breaking down the barriers between institutions (government departments, local authorities, social groups, socio-professional organisations, both sides of industry) is more than ever obvious in transformation areas, especially when the possibility of a comprehensive development plan emerges. It is the security for programming the economy and human resources. In this connection, the Aichfeld-Murboden Project is a model: vertical mobilisation (state, region, local authority) and horizontal mobilisation of local agents (departments, two sides of industry, councillors) has enabled assistance schemes to be complementary instead of competitive, to supervise their quality while preserving the functions of each. The essential problem in this case, however, is in a general way, to identify zones of coherence: the areas covered by administrative action do not necessarily coincide with the underlying cultural entity or with the economic flows of employment or migration. Without wishing to encumber the institutional system, it may be supposed that liaison institutions such as industrial basin committees, which would take all the points of cultural, economic and political coincidence into consideration, could be valuable intermediaries in the transformation of the region or district.

The lessons which can be drawn from the Aichfeld-Murboden and other experiments show that there is still a long way to go before the social, economic and cultural management of areas undergoing industrial transformation is carried out primarily for the advantage of the population concerned. They show in particular that the mere introduction of an adult education policy, in the narrowest and most formal sense, is not enough. Permanent education is based on the conversion of each moment in the life of an individual - a worker in the firm, a citizen in his town, a man or woman in his or her district - into a part of an educational process. The three are indissociable, and their recognition by education is the only way of coping individually and collectively with the critical situations of regions undergoing industrial transformation.

A P P E N D I X I V

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by J L Jacquet |
| | 2. <u>Adult education for regional development
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